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ABSTRACT

This essay traces the actions taken by governments and private agencies in the past two decades to limit population growth and examines the growing emphasis on linking population and development concerns. It was presented to the annual conference of the Ford Foundation's International Division on September 22, 1975. The time between the end of World War II and 1964 was characterized by the dominance of private interest and activity. The period 1965 to 1970 was characterized by a proliferation of government family planning programs and by the entrance of bilateral government agencies as supporters of population and family-planning activity. The years 1970-1974 brought large increases in monetary support for family planning and increasing dominance in the field by the Agency for International Development (AID) and the multilateral agencies. As for future prospects, the author concludes that social progress should be given precedence over economic progress in development and that population phenomena should be viewed in the context of the entire constellation of development phenomena. Following the essay is a review of the Foundation's own programs in population, both past and present. (Author/RM)

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POPULATION ISSUES:
From Obscurity to
Worldwide Interest

I. Population: Before and After Bucharest
by Lyle Saunders

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Review and Projection
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Foreword

JUN 6 1977

Lyle Saunders' essay was presented to the annual conference of the Ford Foundation's International Division, on September 22, 1975. In it he traces the actions taken by governments and private agencies in the past two decades to limit population growth rates, and the growing emphasis on linking population and development concerns. Mr. Saunders' essay coincided with his retirement from the Foundation. A medical sociologist and author of several books and articles on the medical and social aspects of fertility control, he has served as a Foundation program advisor in population and family planning in various countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The Foundation believes his views of the present state of population issues and the problems still requiring concerted attention by governments and private organizations are worth sharing with a wider audience.

Following the essay is a review of the Foundation's own programs in population, both past and projected, prepared by Oscar Harkavy, Program Officer in charge of the Foundation's Population Office.

David E. Bell
Executive Vice President
International Division

I. Population: Before and After Bucharest

by Lyle Saunders

It may be that in the perspective of history World Population Year and its climactic World Population Conference held in Bucharest in 1974 will be accorded a significance deriving more from their timing than from their accomplishments. They produced little of substance that was new or remarkable, but they affirmed and gave added legitimacy to ideas long taken for granted by individuals and agencies working in population and focused attention on certain issues and themes in a way, and to an extent, that has made them appear both novel and notable. For example:

1. The conference affirmed the right of couples to determine responsibly the number and spacing of their children and the corollary obligation of governments to provide the means—information, materials, services—necessary for the exercise of that right. This right had twice before been publicly endorsed in declarations by a limited number of United Nations member states. At Bucharest, most of the nations of the world, by affirming this right, accepted, in effect, the principle that the state has a legitimate interest in reproductive behavior.* Some states, e.g., Brazil and Nigeria, have explicitly indicated that this interest does not extend to the demographic consequences of reproduction. Nonetheless, the conference statement carries the strong implication that most governments accept the principle that private reproductive behavior is a matter of public concern.

2. There is evidence in the World Population Plan of Action adopted at Bucharest of an emerging consensus, articulated most forcefully by a number of Third World nations, that the development model followed by most disadvantaged countries over the past three decades has been too heavily preoccupied with macro economic objectives and too little concerned with micro-level improvements in the quality of living for masses of people. In this view the goal of development should not be just a continuing increase in gross national products but should go beyond that to the provision of improved life conditions and opportunities for everyone, especially the poor. This is not a new idea, but the emphasis given to it at the conference could give it a prominence and an impetus that could stimulate a re-examination of the scope and direction of development planning in some countries.

3. The conference made much of the notion that population concerns are a part of, not a substitute for, development concerns. This emphasis has been ascribed to a resentment of the vigor, and in a sense to the success, with which family planning has been promoted and developed. The idea that family planning is not the whole of development or a panacea for all the social and economic woes of the world has been so widely accepted and so obvious to toilers in the population vineyards that they have rarely felt a need to mention it. Many of them have, in fact, been arguing for some years for a closer relationship between family planning and the mainstream of development planning and for greater attention by development planners to population variables.

*Note that this is not identical with an interest in sexual behavior, which has long been accepted as subject to government regulation—for example, in laws relating to marriage.

The separation of population policy and programs from other development policy and operational agencies has come about through a series of historical accidents. The rapid rise of interest in population has grown out of a concern that high population growth rates are having negative effects on human welfare. Fertility was seen as the logical variable for reducing growth, and family planning became the principal vehicle through which fertility was to be modified. The period of most rapid growth of interest in fertility reduction and in the establishment of national family-planning programs coincided with the introduction of two new contraceptives—the pill and the intrauterine device—both of which require medical intervention. Family planning thus became identified as a health matter.

Health ministries were happy to take on family planning because it gave them new visibility, new prominence, and access to a lot of new money. Policy makers and development planners were happy to leave family planning to health people because it was widely regarded as politically sensitive, because not many policy makers or development planners had much knowledge of demography or much interest in it, because the more significant population changes were viewed as occurring beyond the conventional time horizon of development plans, and because there was not much convincing evidence that population growth adversely affects economic development. Awareness of the disadvantages of the separation—of making family planning the exclusive prerogative of the health professions, of the inadequacies of family planning as the only approach to fertility reduction, and of regarding fertility as the only demographic variable of significance for development—has been increasing for some time.

The conference's emphasis that population activities should include more than family planning and should be more closely linked to other development goals and activities—although arising from the wrong reasons, i.e., a misperception that family planning was being supported and pursued to the neglect of other development goals—gave prominence and legitimacy to a point of view that the Ford Foundation, among others, had been advocating for several years.

4. The conference also gave new visibility to the perceptions that population trends and events are linked in complex, two-way, casual relationships with other social, economical, political, and environmental conditions; that demographic factors other than population size and growth have consequences for national and human welfare; and that fertility, in particular, may be responsive to interventions other than the provision of contraceptive information and services. Ideas that had been discussed in the population literature—possible relations of fertility to educational levels, the status and employment opportunities of women, the effects of various kinds of incentives and disincentives, age at marriage, the proportion married, rising incomes, and more equitable distribution of goods and services, modernization, opportunities for geographic and social mobility, land reform, democratization—were brought up and debated on a world stage and acquired weight and importance in the process.

What happened during World Population Year and at Bucharest has implications for the programs of agencies, like the Foundation, that aspire to deepen understanding of population events and to help develop and mobilize conceptual, human, material, and fiscal resources for coping with problems arising out of those events. As a background to consideration of what some of those implications may be, it may be useful to recall the evolution of the Foundation's population program as it has been shaped in response to external events.

Evolving Interest

Several overlapping phases can be discerned in the field in which the Foundation's program has been both a component and a response. These elude precise

definition, but they can be roughly described as periods of 1) growing awareness of a problem and tooling up by private agencies to cope with it; 2) program development and the acceptance of financial and operational responsibility by governments; 3) program expansion and diversification of the involvement of multinational agencies, and 4) an emerging recognition of a need for new directions and additional objectives to supplement, but not replace, the previous pursuit of fertility reduction through family planning.

The first period, roughly from the end of World War II to around 1964, was characterized by the dominance of private interest and activity. A few countries, India (very early), Pakistan, South Korea, Tunisia, and perhaps China, had established programs to reduce their birth rates by the end of the period, and Sweden had provided some help for family planning in Ceylon and Pakistan. But governmental interest on the whole was slight, and it was the private organizations that began to perceive and respond to the emerging problem.

The Population Council and the International Planned Parenthood Federation were established in the early 1950s. The Pathfinder Fund was quite active, both in the United States and overseas, by 1963. The Rockefeller Foundation, which had earlier begun support of reproductive biology, began to make other commitments to population in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The Ford Foundation was making grants as early as 1952, and by the time the Foundation's Population Office was established in 1963, had committed some \$8 million to the field. Support to the Government of India's family-planning program began in 1959, and for a time in the early 1960s a Foundation specialist, Dr. Moye Freymann, was one of the persons most influential in shaping that program. Major concerns during this period were to increase public and official awareness of the dangers of uncontrolled population growth and to begin to build institutional capacity, in terms of manpower and knowledge, to respond to the problem. During these early years, the Foundation provided what was to be long-continued support to the Population Reference Bureau and the Population Council and, in a brief period after 1960, helped to establish research and training programs in reproductive biology in eighteen major laboratories and population centers or programs in eight leading universities.

Rapid Growth of Government Programs

The period 1965-1970 was characterized by a proliferation of government family-planning programs and by the entrance of bilateral government agencies as supporters of population and family-planning activity. The dominant concerns of the period were to continue to build and support institutional capacity in training and research; to pursue fertility reduction through national family-planning programs; and to stimulate, assist, and support emerging government policies and programs. By the end of 1970, twenty-nine countries had official policies and programs to reduce fertility, and twenty-one others were providing official support to family planning for non-demographic reasons. During this period, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Japan became active in varying degrees in bilateral population assistance programs, and Canada and West Germany began to consider such activity. The Agency for International Development's (AID) authorized budget for population had risen to \$45 million by 1969. The World Bank established its Population Projects Department in 1968. The United Nations Fund for Population Activities had been established in 1967, but by the end of 1969 had a budget of only \$3.7 million. The Food and Agriculture Organization, the United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization, and the World Health Organization had become moderately active in population affairs by late 1969.

The Foundation continued its heavy investments in reproductive biology research and training, in the Population Council and at university centers in the United States. Overseas activity emphasized technical assistance to emerging family-planning programs in, among other countries, Colombia, Malaysia, Ghana, Kenya, Pakistan, and, especially, India, as well as support to training of overseas nationals in demography, social sciences, and economics both in their own countries or regions and in the United States. At one time there were as many as a dozen Foundation advisers and specialists working in various parts of the India national program. The Foundation was represented on a Population Council mission to Kenya in 1965 that helped to influence that country's movement toward a population policy, and Foundation grants and personnel were instrumental in helping to start the influential ASCOFAME research and action program in Colombia, to stimulate, shape, and provide technical assistance from the University of Michigan to the national family-planning program in Malaysia, and to help with the drafting of a population policy and the design of a program in Ghana.

The years 1970-1974 brought large increases in monetary support for family planning and increasing dominance in the field by AID and the multilateral agencies. Ten additional nations began support of family-planning programs, either for demographic or other reasons, bringing the total to sixty. Programs expanded in size; efforts at evaluation were intensified; there were beginnings of a shift from heavy reliance on health clinics toward more diversified delivery systems and a countermovement to integrate family planning more closely into health programs. A trend toward the liberalization of sterilization and abortion became noticeable, as did efforts to link population more firmly and rationally to other development concerns. Attention began to focus on population policy, and support began to flow to research designed to illuminate how and why policies get formulated and implemented. Private donor activity began to shift toward a greater emphasis on building social science research capability and a search for ways to increase the involvement of development planners in the interrelations of population variables and other development interests. And there was an increasing awareness that population phenomena are more complex and more bound up with other valued aspects of human life than had been previously realized.

Information, Education, Better Management

For the Foundation, there was an increase of interest in the role of information and education for population and development and in finding ways to upgrade the quality of management in national family-planning programs. Support for reproductive biology and university centers continued. Ways were sought to increase the capability for a variety of kinds of family planning and social science training in regional or local centers overseas. And research competitions and networks were established and assisted: the highly successful Ford-Rockefeller policy research awards competition, the International Committee for Contraception Research and the Latin American Program of Research in Human Reproduction in reproductive biology, the Latin American Program of Population Studies and a Brazilian national competition in support of social research, the Council for Asian Manpower Studies, the Organization of Demographic Associates, the Southeast Asia Research Program in Population, and the Committee for Comparative Behavioral Studies on Population in Asia.

World Population Year and the World Population Conference were favorably timed. They occurred at a time when change was in the wind, and it was becoming obvious that new definitions, new strategies, and new tactics were going to be required. The dimensions and the dynamics of the population threat to human welfare had become well and widely known. The shape and complexity of the

interrelated problems linked to population phenomena had become more apparent. Resources had been developed and mobilized to deal with higher fertility. Programs had been established and a body of experience in managing them had been built up. Social, political, and technical momentum had been achieved. The preliminary phase of organizing and mobilizing to counter the unprecedented problems of rapidly expanding, highly mobile populations had been largely accomplished. Much remained to be done to control fertility anywhere, but a solid start had been made in a very short time, and the will and means to continue were present in many countries and emerging in others.

It has been pointed out that the Bucharest conference was a meeting more concerned with politics than with demography, more with social development than with population. Its World Population Plan of Action—appropriately for a political document—expressed noble sentiments about human rights and welfare and enunciated humane and civilized principles. It had much to say about problems, but little to contribute toward solutions. Responsibility for population growth and its consequences was handed back—properly—to sovereign nations and—predictably—to individual couples. But the idea of responsible reproduction and the obligation of governments to help couples achieve it were affirmed, and that affirmation, by most of the countries of the world, constitutes a kind of seal of approval for family planning and perhaps an end to lingering doubts about its respectability and its appropriateness as a governmental concern.

Future Prospects

In emphasizing social development, the conference illuminated an emerging concern for a broader definition of what population problems include and a wider range of involvement and activity in dealing with them. Family planning will continue and expand, but, as it has already begun to do, it will move out of the clinic and into the community. Additional ways of delivering contraceptive information and materials will be explored and adopted. New contraceptives will appear, and existing ones will be improved. The trend toward wider acceptance of sterilization and more liberal abortion laws will continue. There will be increasing attempts to link other population interests and actions—e.g., in urbanization and migration—with fertility concerns and increased recognition that population phenomena involve much more than numbers or growth rates and are the proper concerns of many professions other than those of health.

The conference concluded that social progress should be given precedence over economic progress in development and that population phenomena should be viewed in the context of the entire constellation of development phenomena. This points toward a merging of the interests and activities of population people and development people. As indicated earlier, these two groups have heretofore gone separate ways. Population has not—as some have charged—been regarded by those in the field as a substitute for other kinds of development. Nonetheless the two streams of activity have been separate, and the time has come for them to come closer together, not because the conference decreed that it should happen, but because the evolution of both development and population activity points in that direction.

For the Foundation, and other donor agencies, the prospect is one of helping to maintain the vigor and effectiveness of the population institutions and programs that have been developed, supporting needed innovation and change among those institutions and programs, and—at the same time and with shrinking resources—beginning to tackle the perhaps more difficult problems that are emerging.

It is not difficult to appreciate that there are linkages among such variables as

education, marriage, income, land tenure, rural-urban migration, employment opportunities, the status of women, and fertility; it is difficult to know how to trace out the nature of those linkages and to use that knowledge to regulate population change or enhance the achievement of other development goals. It is easy to see that decentralization of development, population, and other government activities is in the cards; it is not going to be easy anywhere to work out the transfers of political and economic power that decentralization will require or to develop the local institutions and skills that will be needed.

For the Foundation, and its work in population, the immediate future will be a time of opportunities and hard choices (as what time hasn't been?). There is unfinished business from the past to be attended to:

- seeking better contraceptives
- maintaining institutional vigor and capability in research and training centers
- improving the management of family-planning programs
- shifting the balance between trivial and significant research
- getting research findings used
- helping to develop an analytical capacity in census and statistical offices
- understanding better how policies are made and used.

And there is new business to become involved in:

- finding better ways to build population objectives into rural development efforts
- fostering and assisting the decentralization of family planning and other population activity
- slowing urban growth and/or helping to find better ways of handling it when it occurs
- understanding better the socioeconomic context within which population changes occur
- identifying and finding ways to exploit the linkages among health, nutrition, and fertility
- helping to shift the balance between economic and social objectives in development planning
- deepening understanding of the linkages between demographic phenomena and other social and economic phenomena
- helping to get demographic objectives and the use of demographic data institutionalized in development planning (a specific opportunity might be to find ways to support the objective agreed to at the Bucharest follow-up conference in Latin America of establishing population planning offices in all Latin American countries)
- learning how to bridge the gap between macro policies and large central programs on the one hand and micro-level participation and change on the other.

How any of this can be done and what of it should be done are by no means clear. What seems to be reasonably clear is that what we mean by population is going to have to be more broadly and, at the same time, more carefully defined and that there will be pressures and opportunities for population work in new areas and among different constituents.

II. Ford Foundation Programs: Review and Projection

by Oscar Harkavy

Helping to meet the challenge of population problems, along with those in agriculture, has long been considered by the Ford Foundation as essential to the survival and well being of people and societies around the world. Accordingly, the Foundation has committed some \$215 million to population work since 1952. The largest dollar share—about 56 per cent—has gone into support of the reproductive sciences and contraceptive development; the next largest, 28 per cent, has supported the social sciences, demography, and population studies; 12 per cent has been devoted to the management and evaluation of family-planning and other population programs; and the balance, about 4 per cent, has been allocated for population information, education, and communications.

In pursuit of this work, the Foundation has assisted private and governmental institutions throughout the world. Most of the research and training supported have been directed to population issues in developing countries. In Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East and Africa, the Foundation has put special emphasis on helping nations develop their own capacity to understand and cope with population problems in the context of their overall social and economic development.

Shifts in Emphasis

As Mr. Saunders indicated in his essay, the world's attempts to cope with population problems have gone through a number of stages in the last few decades. The Foundation's own strategy has similarly been modified and will continue to change. An overriding limitation in this, as other programs, is the reduction of the Foundation's overall budgets.

In the coming years two major shifts in program emphasis are contemplated:

The first is a movement away from the building of resource bases (core support for population studies centers and biomedical research laboratories, for example) in the industrial world. Such support will not be abandoned entirely, but there will be a relatively greater stress on capacity-building in the developing world, particularly in linking research to policy.

The second is an increased emphasis on social science research designed to illuminate relations between population change on the one hand and economic and social variables on the other. Without setting rigid priorities on the kinds of research it is prepared to support, the Foundation will encourage efforts designed to help policy makers deal with population problems as an integral part of their total development planning and programming.

Social Science Research

Among the means the Foundation uses to encourage social science research on population, are international "networks," both of individual scholars and of social science institutions. For example, scholars from eight nations have joined in a study, now nearing completion, of why people chose to have children, and the eight institutions that make up the Latin American Program of Population Studies, known as PISPAL, collaborate on policy-relevant population studies.

Another useful instrument is the research competition, such as the Southeast

Asia Research Program in Population (SEAPRAP), which aims to help younger scholars develop their capacity for policy-relevant research on population and development. A similar program exists in Brazil, and an exploration of research interest and capacity is underway in English- and French-speaking West Africa under the direction of scholars at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria. The object is to suggest ways of encouraging research relevant to West African priorities.

Complementing these regional efforts is a worldwide research competition that has been sponsored jointly by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations since 1971. It is directed at broadening understanding of the relations among population variables, economic policies, and social and political change. Research funded has ranged from a study of the sociopsychological factors relevant to fertility in Ireland and Mexico to an analysis of the effect of United States welfare policy on fertility and population redistribution. The 1976-1977 competition is giving increased emphasis to studies of the relations between population and social and economic variables in the developing world.

As in most of the above programs, the Foundation often joins in funding projects with other agencies—private, governmental, and multilateral. Of great potential significance is the new International Review Group, established with Foundation assistance and now funded by ten international assistance agencies active in supporting social science research on population and development. Made up of outstanding social scientists from each continent and headquartered at the College of Mexico, the group will review the present state of social science knowledge relevant to population policy and development, identify critical issues not yet addressed, and recommend future research.

A necessary complement to the support of such research is the building and maintenance of institutions capable of carrying it out. The Foundation is no longer able to contribute substantially to major population studies centers in the United States and Europe, but it is prepared to assist collaborative research by scholars from rich and poor countries and to support highly specialized graduate instruction of students from the developing world until such training is available in their own countries.

Reproductive Science and Contraceptive Development

In collaboration with the Rockefeller Foundation and the International Development Research Centre of Canada (IDRC), the Ford Foundation has completed a comprehensive review of the state of reproductive science research and contraceptive development. The report, entitled *Reproduction and Human Welfare: A Challenge to Research*,* makes three general recommendations.

1. Increased efforts are needed to develop a greater variety of safe and effective methods of fertility regulation.
2. Greater attention should be given to studies of the intermediate and long-term safety of contraceptive methods.
3. A higher proportion of medical research funds should be assigned to studies related to reproductive research and development.

For an adequate worldwide effort in the reproductive sciences, contraceptive development, and safety studies, the review estimates that some \$360 million would be required as of 1976, increasing to about \$500 million in 1980 because of anticipated inflation. Since only governments can provide the massive infusion of funds required for this effort, the Foundation intends to concentrate on specific activities in which its funds can make a difference. Under present plans these activities include support for 1) the Population Council's biomedical activities,

**Reproduction and Human Welfare: A Challenge to Research* (MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts), 1976.

particularly its International Committee for Contraception Research; 2) selected research and training groups, with special emphasis on those outside the United States, in developing as well as in industrialized countries; 3) programs that encourage new talent to enter reproductive research, and 4) studies that assess progress and help set priorities for the field. The review's findings confirm that these activities are relatively neglected by the major funders and would benefit from continued attention by the Foundation.

Because there are more funds available for United States investigators than for scientists overseas, the Foundation will emphasize grants to the latter but will continue to provide modest support to Americans engaged in high priority research. The Foundation also plans to continue to help expedite the flow of young scientists into the reproductive sciences by maintaining support of training at the pre- and postdoctoral levels in the United States and of a competitive program of awards to both younger and prominent investigators in Latin America. The Latin American program, which is managed by a board of scientists from the region, who make the awards, appears to be a promising mechanism for professional development that may be replicated in other parts of the developing world.

In funding biomedical research involving human subjects the Foundation will continue its long-standing policy for safeguarding the subjects' rights and welfare. This policy requires adequate assurances from prospective researchers that the subjects' consent be informed and freely given, that the risks and potential medical benefits be deemed acceptable by the research investigator and by the subject, and that the research be carried out in accordance with local laws and policies pertaining to studies involving human subjects.

Management of Population Programs

An important objective of the Foundation's population work has been improved management of family-planning programs. Two major advances have been assisted: increased attention by management institutes to the problems of managing family-planning programs, and the creation in 1973 of the International Committee for the Management of Population Programs (ICOMP). Made up of the heads of major national and voluntary family-planning and population programs and directors of management training and research institutes in the developing world, ICOMP assists cooperation between the institutes and program managers and encourages program heads to sharpen their managerial skills.

A logical next step is to encourage management experts and program managers to tackle the management of comprehensive population programs. Many governments are experimenting with different ways of introducing such programs. Singapore, for example, is trying incentive and disincentive schemes such as giving small families preference in public housing. Other nations are attempting to ensure that the development planning process will be more responsive to population policies, and that population programs reflect those policies. For example, Egypt's Population and Family Planning Board is currently planning model rural development projects that give particular attention to health services that will reduce infant mortality, and to expanded educational opportunities, both of which have strong correlations with reduced fertility. The government of El Salvador has established a Technical Committee under its Population Council with responsibility for defining population-relevant activities in each government ministry. And, some countries are devising new forms of contraceptive delivery. For example, Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines have introduced programs to distribute contraceptives through community organizations as well as through family-planning clinics.

Managing comprehensive population programs requires decentralization and

integration of program activities at the community level. It also requires strong community structures to encourage participation in establishing development objectives and mobilizing local resources to achieve them. The Foundation will be alert to ways to further these objectives. At the same time, it will seek to be of assistance with the management problems of the more traditional contraceptive services, such as planning, budgeting, and evaluating. In addition to providing continued support for ICOMP, the Foundation will also make a few small grants for management research, consultation, and evaluations.

Information and Education

The Foundation's first grant in the population field, made some twenty-five years ago, was to support the information activities of the Population Reference Bureau. The Foundation has continued to support the field of population communications in the United States and throughout the world in a wide range of grants. They have included support for a communications training center in Costa Rica, for research on elite attitudes toward population in Kenya, and for public information work in India and Indonesia.

The Foundation has also helped develop other training projects in Latin America, the United States, and Africa, aided research on the media as a cultural variable, and financed such projects as the development of information materials for use in the Philippines and a workshop on introducing population as a classroom subject in the United States.

Current and future interests of the Foundation include further exploration of the roles and uses of advanced technology in population work. More needs to be known, for example, about the effects of national telecommunications satellites such as the one in Indonesia, which will soon be in place and will allow direct telephone and broadcast communications between distances of over 3,000 miles in the Archipelago. Assistance has already been given to demonstrate the technical feasibility of linking United States-based computerized information banks with a capital city in Asia.

Field experiments in the Caribbean in the 1950s and in Taiwan and Korea in the 1960s suggest that communications, particularly for rural and developmental work, should be rooted in the social sciences. The Foundation presently is supporting master's level fellowships for training in population and development communications at the University of Chicago. As the role of communications in family-planning programs is re-examined, the Foundation expects to assist a few experimental projects to develop new approaches.

Major Institutions

A few institutions have made major contributions to the understanding of the world's population problems and to the implementation of population policies and programs. Outstanding among these is the Population Council, which conducts and supports programs of research in the social sciences and contraceptive development, and also provides technical assistance to population programs in the developing world. Institutions like the council depend for their continued existence on core support by philanthropic and governmental sources. The Foundation has contributed a total of \$58 million to the council since 1954 and plans to continue support of council activities, though at necessarily reduced levels.